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346 Nonetheless it seems logical to assume a pre-Hindu cultural in-
177 fluence. Once we come to know more of this hypothetical pre-Hindu cultural element, many other Balinese cultural phenomena such as the *lamak* (the plaited offering carpet), the *barong*, the *naga* (a creature to be distinguished from an ordinary serpent, and perhaps a dragon),[23] the winged lion, and so forth may become clear to us.

After these notes on the nature and purpose of the three important village temples and their architectural design, two other village sanctuaries may be mentioned. These are the *pura sĕgara* and the *pura bukit*. The *pura sĕgara*, or sea temple, though falling in the category of the village temples, is of course primarily to be found in *desas* located close to the seashore, while the *pura bukit*, or hilltop temple, is naturally more common in the mountain areas.

Let us now turn to the second series of symptoms indicating the religious character of the village community: the workings of the village administration.

2

The Village Administration

621 For an understanding of the structure and function of the village administration it is necessary to turn first of all to the mountain areas, where the pre-Hindu situation has been preserved to a large extent. A survey of conditions there[23] can be of help in understanding the newer type of villages found elsewhere, and can demonstrate that both in Karangasĕm and in Buleleng there are transitional forms towards the *desa* of the Hindu-Javanese type.

624 The village administration of yore was made up of a number of pairs of officials each consisting of one right member and one left member. This same division into two halves or phratries also obtained for the core villagers who did not hold office.

The lists of officials in certain mountain villages follow. In Songan there are two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, one *pĕnyarikan*, two *singgukans*, and seven pairs of *saihs nĕmbĕlas*.[24] In the Gianyar mountain vil-

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lage of Pĕnyabangan there are two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕmĕsangans*, and two *pĕngitukans*.[25] In Marga Tĕngah two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, two *pĕmalungans*, and two *pĕnguhunans*.[26] In Sĕming two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, and two *pĕmalungans*.[27] In Pilan two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, and two *pĕmalungans*.[28] More such lists might be cited from the available material, but the data provided here are enough to indicate that there are three pairs of main officials – *kĕbayans*, (*ka*)*baus*, and (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, – and that these are always followed by other pairs, frequently but not always headed by a pair of *pĕnyarikans*.

As soon as foreign (that is to say Hindu-Javanese) influences began to transform and simplify this system of *desa* administration, either some pairs were omitted or else pairs were reduced to single representatives. This can be seen happening everywhere. Leaving out of consideration the so-called apanage territory[29] we find the following situation. Among the mountain villages of Gianyar, Pĕngaji has one *kĕbayan*, one (*ka*)*bau*, one (*kĕ*)*singgukan*, one *pĕnyarikan*, and so forth.[30] In Bukit there are one *kĕbayan*, one (*ka*)*bau*, and six *gurus*, two of which have the title *guru pĕnanggupan*.[31] In Mantĕring the old names are still recalled, but the functions are no longer known.[32] Pausan displays a semi-complete type with two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, and two *pĕmalungans*, but only one (*kĕ*)*singgukan*.[33] And in Sĕlat, an old village in Karangasĕm, there is one *pasĕk* (to be returned to below), one *kĕbayan*, one *ngukuhin*, one *pĕnyarikan*, and one *juru*.[34]

Turning to consider the situation in the villages of Buleleng, one still finds two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, two *singgukans*, and one *pĕnyarikan* in Pachung[35] and Bangkah;[36] two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, two *singgukans*, but no *pĕnyarikan* in Sĕmbiran;[37] two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, and one *pĕnyarikan* in Tĕgal;[38] and four *kĕbayans*, two *baus* and one *pĕnyarikan* in Bĕngkala.[39]

From there on the number of old-style functionaries grows less and less; one after another of them vanishes and the number of newer functionaries gradually increases. Then they, too, begin

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178 to disappear, until there are *desas* with one *klihan* and one *pĕnyarik-*
624 *an*, or finally with a *klihan* who is at the same time *pĕnyarikan*. In all this development a force can be detected towards substitution of a monolithic system of village authority for the old bipartite *desa* administration and replacement of the old indigenous set-up by Hindu forms of royal power and religious penetration (in temple administration).

624 This evolution is to be seen in every field. Though in earlier times the *kĕbayans* were the chief officiants in the temples, eventually they had to give way to the *pĕmangkus*, with the villages where *kĕbayans* and *pĕmangkus* are both represented in the village administration forming an intermediate stage. Whereas in earlier times the supreme authority in the village also was in the hands of the *kĕbayans*, in northern Bali (and very frequently in older villages in Karangasĕm) they were replaced by the *pasĕk*,[40] a sole hered-
[622] itary village head (as opposed to the pair of *kĕbayans*, who had attained their position owing to seniority). An even newer type is the *bĕndesa*, first under the *pasĕk*, then on an equal footing, and finally superior to him. But this village head in turn has had to give way to the most recent functionary, the *klihan*.

175 This evolution can perhaps best be summarized as follows.
[615] Originally the *desa* was divided into two phratries, with one set
624 of functionaries for each phratry and with the highest social authority in the village coinciding completely with the highest priestly function. Then came a tendency towards monism, imported by Hinduism, and as a result a concentration of the village administration in the hands of a single person, as was desired by the Hindu ruler, and in the religious sphere a division of functions between this single secular village authority and the religious officiants in the temples (no longer village authorities).

621 Though even now a large number of villages of the traditional type which have been able to maintain themselves despite every pressure testify to the older Balinese situation, the vast majority of the Balinese *desas* demonstrate that on the village level, as elsewhere, the system of thought is no longer essentially indigenous Austronesian in character, but Hindu-Balinese.

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of dry fields and gardens take part in the ceremony along with the *sawah*-holders. The *sĕmbahyangan istika* is repeated every Friday until the rains come. It has happened several times that it was held at the request of the regional agricultural official to the *pĕnghulu*. (It should be mentioned that in earlier years the Pulukan agricultural official was a Moslem.) As a rule relations between the Bali-Hindu and Bali-Moslem members of the *subaks* leave nothing to be desired.

12

Irrigation and Landrent Levies

Under the agricultural official, or *sĕdahan agung*, for the region of Jĕmbrana, who is also the acting head of the regional landrent office at Nĕgara and assistant collector of revenues, are four *sĕdahans*, or lower officials, for the *sawahs* and two for the dry fields. The first category of officials are called *sĕdahan tĕmuku*, a designation which has to do with one of their chief tasks, supervising the distribution of irrigation water by means of distribution blocks (*tĕmukus*), while their fellow-officials for the dry fields (*tĕgalan*) and gardens (*abian*) are called *sĕdahan abian-tĕgal* after the nature of the lands under their jurisdiction. The territory over which a *sĕdahan* is placed, the *pĕsĕdahan*, is divided in *desas* in the case of dry lands, but the wet ricefields are organized in *subaks*.

The *sĕdahan agung* and the *sĕdahans tĕmuku* are concerned not only with the collection of taxes, but also with the *subak* system. When large-scale projects are to be taken up, or when there has been serious damage to the irrigation works of one or more *subaks*, the *sĕdahan agung* and his *sĕdahans* regulate the way in which the various *subaks* are to cooperate and to what extent other *subaks* are to lend their assistance. The *sĕdahan agung* also gives advice on irrigation problems and functions as a link between the *subak*, the Dutch authorities, and the relevant technical services. He moreover makes contact with the *desa* administrations in order to arrive at an effective arrangement for setting dates when statute labour and *desa* and *subak* services are to be rendered.

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312 474 624 To mention a few examples, in September, 1935, the extensive damage to the tunnel system of the *subak* of Yeh Buah wrought by a flash-flood was repaired with the *subaks*, the central authorities, and the irrigation service cooperating, while in December of the same year a start was made in straightening the lower reaches of the Pĕrgung River. In these projects the activity of dozens of *subaks* was organized; the help of the irrigation service was restricted to giving advice and surveying the land.

In some cases the *sĕdahan agung* sees to a certain amount of coordination in religious matters, while the adjudication of *subak* violations according to *adat* law also falls within his competence. In the latter the *sĕdahan agung* has an appellate function; he has the power to apply sanctions recognized by *adat*, such as fines and the withholding of irrigation water, but he cannot impose imprisonment.[7] The *sĕdahans tĕmuku* supervise the use and accountability of *subak* funds. The agricultural officials also have some influence on arrangements for irrigation rotation between *subaks*. In the westerly irrigation territories such arrangements are not necessary, since the irrigation-water supply is sufficient; in the *pĕsĕdahan* of Jĕmbrana and further to the east there is a system of irrigation rotation regulating which month a specific *subak* has disposal over water. The arrangement is constant: there are no periodical changes with the intention of creating conditions which are in the long run the same for everyone. It is the rule, however, that the *subaks* lying farthest from the weir receive water first. Also steps are taken to counteract consequences which might be unfavourable for some *subaks* as a result of a certain seasonal arrangement, in keeping with the principle that everyone has to contribute a like amount in the costs of irrigation. In each of the two *pĕsĕdahans* Nĕgara and Jĕmbrana there is only one *subak* depending on tunnel irrigation; in the *pĕsĕdahan* Mĕndoyo there are underground conduits in the irrigation system of four *subaks*. In Jagaraga-Pulukan, however, there are ten *subaks* with tunnels. As regards dry-field farming the *sĕdahans* and the *sĕdahan agung* have a function in the dissemination of agricultural information.

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The *de mangku* is required to be a *sangyang*, and to have reached at least the rank of *luanan* in the *desa* administration. Since no living member of the *sangyang* has yet attained such a high rank, however, the post has been vacant for years. Nonetheless a compound with all the customary compound buildings is maintained for him. (The same is the case for the *de ngijĕng*, for whom a place is also left open at important religious ceremonies.) According to the village constitution the *de mangku* has a right to seven compounds, but since no one has occupied the post for so long only one of the seven is maintained. At the offering meetings, however, seven portions of the offering foods are still set out for him. If there is a *de mangku* he must serve as *subak* for the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association, though otherwise that *subak* may be chosen from the *batuguling maga* group. The *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman* should by preference also come from the *sangyang* group, though an *ijĕng* may also fill such a function if need be. In fact there does not seem to be any prohibition against members of other classes taking up the function of *guru*, and it has been done twice; in each case, however, the *guru* died an early and violent death, while his pupils were plagued by misfortune to the end of their lives.

Though the leaders of the religious ceremonies in the village temples, who are also custodians of the religious mysteries, come from the *sangyang* group, the word *mangku* in this *desa* must not be given a significance of 'temple guardian' such as is attributed to the term *pĕmangku* in the rest of Bali. The *de mangku* is viewed rather as the village ruler (compare the *mangkubumi*, the vizier of the Malay principalities on the east coast of Sumatra),[1] the agrarian founder, who is thus also the obvious person to have charge over unoccupied plots of land (in this sense comparable to the *mangku bumi* in the Javanese principalities, the supervisor of agricultural affairs,[2] but even more to the *mĕramba mangu tanah* of Sumba[3] and the *tuan tanah* of the Kai Islands[4]). Even aside from his control of *desa* lands, the *de mangku* is clearly the largest landowner. It is also his task to lend material assistance to the poor.

The *ijĕng* or *sangyang kiwa* group traditionally provides the village with another official, the *subak desa* or *de ngijĕng*. (The *ng-* is added

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for purposes of liaison in the combination of the title *de* with *ijĕng*.)
Only an *ijĕng* who has already sounded the signal block in the *desa*, that is to say has been *pĕnyarikan desa*, comes into consideration for this post. Since there is no such person available, this office, too, is vacant. One of the *desa* members of the *ijĕng* group had almost reached the rank of *pĕnyarikan* when his wife took to trading in public, which forced him to resign as a member of the *desa*. Though he as a result does not hold the post of *subak desa*, he is nonetheless known as *de ngijĕng*. He is an authority on *desa* customs and history and knows practically the whole *desa* constitution by heart. (He was, however, very chary with his knowledge.)

The *pande* class and the *pasĕk* and *bĕndesa* groups are supposedly not descended from the original inhabitants of the village, but they have their own heap of stones in the *pura pĕkuwon*. There are no longer any *pandes mas*, literally 'goldsmiths', in the village: the earlier representatives of the group moved to the *desa* of Bratan in Buleleng, since they remembered their long-standing kinship with the *pandes* living there. There are still *pandes wĕsi*, but none of them practises the craft of blacksmith.

It is remarkable that while in the rest of Bali the *pasĕks* and *bĕndesas* are viewed as the highest groups among the *sudras*,[8] here they are at the bottom. The *pasĕks* consider themselves to be related to their namesakes in other *desas*, and go to worship with them in certain temples, for example at Pura Dasar Gelgel in Klungkung. However, they do not cremate their dead, and (though it is not quite clear to me why) the Tĕngananese have more respect for the *pasĕks* from other villages who do practise cremation. Consequently the official post of *pasĕk* in the *desa* is filled by a *pasĕk* from the neighbouring village of Ngis. The other classes play no special rôle in the *desa*.

If one asks a Tĕngananese which class he belongs to, unless he is a *sangyang* he will answer that he does not know, or that others have told him that he belongs to this or that class. If one then checks with those others, they in turn will declare that they may not express an opinion on someone else's class. This same phenomenon is found throughout Bali in regard to the caste system.

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the *desa* council, or performs the *pĕkĕmit bĕngongan*, both the husband and the wife cease to be *desa* members. 623 626

When a *desa* member of whatever rank is deprived of membership, the others retain their old places for the time being, moving up to their new places only in Katiga, Kaněm, and Kasanga, the third, sixth, and ninth month. In certain cases a person who has lost his *desa* membership can regain it. For instance, a widower who marries a girl of the *desa* becomes a member once more, and the village constitution makes it possible for the *desa* meeting to decide whether a person whose membership has been revoked for another reason should be readmitted. He then regains the same seniority he had earlier enjoyed, even though that may mean that his position has moved towards the upper end of the *bale agung* in the meantime. In view of this possibility of regaining membership, a register of persons who have lost theirs, listed chronologically and according to rank, is kept among the village records. [587]

Since the commencement, termination, and regaining of membership depends on a variety of causes, the number of members of the *desa* is variable. In 1926 there were twenty *pĕngluduhans*. This variability in the number of members has come about as a result of the decrease in population in the village. In earlier times the number of members corresponded to the number of *desa* compounds, with only those married couples having a compound becoming core villagers. Now, however, the population has declined to the extent that there are unoccupied compounds and everyone who marries can immediately obtain one. 623 565 162

During the *desa* meetings the *pĕngluduhans* sit nearest of all the core villagers to the lower end of the *bale agung*.[1] It is a general rule that the persons who have a lower seat (*dibĕten*) address those who sit higher up (*diulu*) in the official language, as *dapa* (the feminine form is *dabi*); the higher-ranking persons address the lower ones as *kita*. The newest pair of *pĕngluduhans* is granted a year in which to learn to behave according to the regulations, and in this period transgressions cannot lead to loss of membership. 623 571

Above the *pĕngluduhans* sit the twelve *tambĕlapus*, the two oldest of whom are called *klihans tambĕlapu*. The two *klihans* and the 623 624

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four following *tambĕlapus* have an important right of say as regards the purification ceremonies. In that connection everyone in the *desa*, high and low alike, must obey their orders: a person who refuses to obey immediately loses his *desa* membership, no matter what rank he may have.

Above the *tambĕlapus* sit the twelve *bahans*. The junior six of this rank are called *dapas bahan bĕtenan;* the senior six are referred to as *klihans bahan* or *dapas bahan duluan*, while as the council handling the day-to-day affairs of the *desa* they are called *klihans desa*. This council meets every evening from eight to twelve o'clock in the *bale agung* with four *sayas* (criers) and six *kĕmits* (watchmen).

In a one-month rotation scheme, the *bahans* serve by turns as the *pĕnyarikan desa*, who has the task of striking the signal block. As long as the *pĕnyarikan* has not sounded the signal block in the morning, the new day has not begun. He must also be present in the *bale agung* every evening, and is in charge of the *kĕropak desa*, where the village records are stored, and of the *desa* seal, which must be affixed to all *desa* documents.

The *sayas desa* also hold their post in one-month rotation, in groups of four. Serving as such are the *desa* members below the rank of *bahan*, in the order in which they appear on the list of seniority. They look after the *pĕsayan* – the meeting requisites: betel, yellow rice, and flowers – at both the *desa* meetings and the meetings of the council. At the beginning of the meeting they perform the ritual of *dĕdauhan base*, presenting the betel and the yellow rice, a few grains of which are pasted to the foreheads of those present.

The *sayas* also serve as village criers. Each evening towards midnight, after the council meeting has come to an end and the *klihans desa* have gone home, leaving the *bale agung* under the protection of the six *kĕmits*, the *sayas* go *angatag saya*. Singing with clear voices, they walk through the village, stopping before the closed door of each person who is to receive an order from the *desa* council. Then they call out more loudly. As soon as they receive an answer, they shout to the inhabitant of the compound what the order is, for he does not open the door.

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If the *sayas* have an order to announce to the whole *desa*, however, they go to the houses of the *klihans luanan* or *kĕbayans desa*. There should be six members of this group, which sits above the *bahans*, but as long as the office of *de ngijĕng* is not filled there are only five. Their task is to make the orders of the council known to the core villagers and other inhabitants of the *desa* liable to service. They are not allowed to close their compound doors before the *sayas* have announced the council orders, since they may not be called to from outside. The *sayas* enter the compounds of the *klihans luanan* with great deference, for in this situation the *luanan* is also the *saya*'s *nabe*. Before saying anything, the *saya* takes hold of the edge of the *luanan*'s offering table, then he announces his commission in deferential language. If his manners fall short he is discharged from his duties.

A word more is in order regarding the *de mangku* and the *de ngijĕng*, who in earlier times were looked upon as the ruler and his *patih*, while the territory within the *desa* gates was called the *kraton*. As soon as a member of the right flank of the *sangyang* class has reached the rank of *luanan* he is elevated to the position of *de mangku*. He then occupies the highest seat in the *bale agung*, and is addressed as *kaki mangku*, while his wife is spoken to as *nini mangku*. After he has ceased to be a member of the *desa* the former *de mangku* is referred to as *de mantĕn*. The left flank of the *sangyang* class provides the *de ngijĕng*, who, however, cannot hold office unless there is a *de mangku*. Once a member of the left flank has reached the rank of *pĕnyarikan*, he automatically becomes the senior *luanan* (unless there is no *de mangku*). The *de ngijĕng*, who is also called *subak desa*, is addressed as *kaki*, or *kaki ngijĕng*, his wife as *nini*, or *nini ngijĕng*. His task is primarily a religious one, though he is also entrusted with the *desa* treasury, and must be informed whenever a marriage is concluded. At religious festivities, for instance at the *usaba* ceremony in Kalima, a place is reserved for him, and a portion of food set apart. For the *de mangku* seven portions of food are provided, in keeping with the number of compounds to which he has a right. If the *de ngijĕng* ceases to be a member of the *desa*, for example because one of his children

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623 marries, he is given the function of *de mĕsalah* (as which he is
● 624 addressed as *kaki salah*, and his wife as *nini salah*) and serves as
565 head of the *klihans gumi*. He remains *de mĕsalah* only as long as his wife is alive. The *de mĕsalah* supervises the offerings at the purification ceremonies in Kasa, Kalima, and Kadasa, the first, fifth, and tenth months.

From the above it is clear that the various ranks in the *desa* are attained on the basis of length of *desa* membership: the longer one is a core villager, the closer to the deity one is seated, and the more hallowed one becomes. Only the *sangyangs* are so hallowed by birth that, once they have reached a certain rank, they are able to skip over the remaining ranks and occupy the two supreme posts of *de mangku* and *de ngijĕng*, which are reserved for their class.

The *klihans gumi* constitute the *desa*'s unprejudiced reservoir of wisdom and experience. They are the supervisors of the widowers, the misformed, and all the other men who for one reason or another are not, or are no longer, *desa* members. Since the *klihans gumi* have ceased to be members of the *desa* and hence do not enjoy the fruits of a share in the *desa* grounds, they no longer perform any services in connection with the purification ceremonies. Nor do they participate in the monthly *desa* meetings, unless they are invited to aid in settling controversies. (As will be seen below, they play an important rôle in the judicial affairs of the *desa*.) However, they do attend the meetings at which plans are made for the purification cremonies in Kasa, Kalima, Kadasa, and Desta, though without their wives. Only at the Kalima purification ceremony do they receive a share of the offering foods. Their title of address is *dapa klihan gumi*.

623 Aside from the officials discussed above, the *desa* has a number of
624 other functionaries who, surprisingly enough, are required to be of different religious views from those of the *desa* members. The chief of these functionaries is the *pasĕk*, who comes from Ngis. He takes part in the *desa* meetings only on invitation, but is always present at the meetings where the purification ceremonies in the months of Kasa, Kalima, and Kaulu are planned. He also has the right to participate in all meetings of the boys' associations to

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which he is invited. At the meetings of both the *desa* and the boys' associations he sits at the head of the meeting *bale*. He is the only person in the village allowed to keep boars, and is in charge of arranging all offerings. He and the heads of the fourteen *kĕbayan tahak* families form together the corps of *langlang desa*, or village watchmen, in which function they are assisted by the *yayas*, the village cleaners.

Among other such functionaries is the *dukuh*, the guardian of the Majapahit temple, who is not a core villager and does not participate in the *desa* meetings, but like the *pasĕk* enjoys the yield from a *bukti*, a plot of village land. The *pande* is the guardian of the *pura bagus pande;* there are also several other temple guardians, the *pĕmangku* of the *pura dalĕm* being the most important of them. All these temple guardians have the usufruct of a *bukti*.

The functions of *pasĕk*, *yaya*, *dukuh*, *pande*, and *pĕmangku* are hereditary. In case the *mangku* of a *paibon* must be replaced, however, the medium at Pasĕdahan is requested to make a choice.

Some years ago the *controleur* of Karangasĕm 'discovered' that the administrative institutions of Tĕnganan were growing corrupt: the six *klihans desa* had begun to exercise a reign of terror, punishing insignificant *adat* violations with exorbitant sentences, even banishment and confiscation of all property, and such sentences were not pronounced in all disinterestedness, for the property then fell to the *desa*, and from its property the *klihans* in turn derived their incomes.

In order to be able to judge whether this complaint was well-founded, it is necessary to consider the administrative machinery in operation, the levies and services required, and the incomes of the officials.

As was seen above, the council handling the day-to-day affairs of the *desa* convenes every evening. On the first day of each month, *pati pantĕn*, the members of the *desa* meet together in the *bale agung*. All members of the *desa* are required to attend the meeting in person; if a member is ill his place is left open, and he must remain indoors for at least three days. A new member

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meeting except instalments of a life-long fine, which are collected at home.

The services requisitioned by the *desa* are almost all of them connected with religious matters. The preparation of the offerings demands a great deal of work, which must be done by the male members of the *desa*. A person who fails to fulfil his duty is fittingly punished, and even those who are prevented by illness from performing their services are confined to their homes for three days. The men also have the duty of appearing with their fighting cocks on certain occasions, and the women *desa* members are required to rear pigs to be sold to the *desa* for fixed low prices in order to be used in the purification rites.

These duties of *desa* membership are counterbalanced by certain advantages. Everyone who takes an active part in the *desa* offering ceremonies enjoys the yield from a *bukti*. The *desa* members, including the officials, have a different share each year; the plots for the others are fixed *sawahs*. Since the number of core villagers is variable, the number of *buktis* differs from year to year, and hence also the number of plots left over as *chariks achi*.

Each of the *pĕngluduhans* except the newest pair has as his share two and a half plots, while the two most recent *pĕngluduhans* have four plots each for the first year. *Desa* members of the higher ranks also have four plots each. The shares are reapportioned each year on the first day of Kasanga, the ninth month. On this date the *desa* members gather in front of the *bale agung*, where the *klihans bahan* sketch a rough map of the *buktis* and in order of seniority the members make their choice. (Nowhere else on Bali is a map used in this way.)

A newly married person does not receive a share until the next apportionment, while if, as a result of the marriage of a child, a man loses his *desa* membership before the rice is ripe, he forfeits his right to his yield, which instead goes to the *desa* treasury. Consequently most marriages take place in the month of Kasa, when the rice is golden yellow in the fields – this in contrast to the rest of Bali, where marriages usually take place after the harvest, because there is then money for the wedding.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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624 421 In conclusion, then, it can be said that the income of the *desa* officials is strictly limited, while the entire income of the *desa* is devoted to the *desa* offerings on the basis of a detailed budget. Hence I fail to see how anyone could accuse the village authorities of self-interest in punishing *adat* transgressions.

2

The Police

181 626 Every offence committed within the village territory is looked upon as prejudicial to the community, and for this reason the *desa* officials take action against such offences even when no complaint has been lodged.

It should be pointed out that every member of the *desa* is expected to look after the welfare of the community, and hence that all villagers must act as *tĕlik tanĕm*, 'village spies'.[4] Anyone reporting a transgression to the *bahan* is given a reward from the village treasury amounting to half of the fine placed on the transgression. The name of the informant remains secret. If the accused denies the charge, he is required to swear on oath to that effect beneath the tamarind tree.

625 In two particular fields there are functionaries with special policing powers. Supervision over the *kayu larangan*, various types of trees which it is prohibited to cut down or pick the fruits or nuts of, is exercised by the *kĕbayan tahak*, who must give permission for each exception to the prohibition. On the eastern mountain slope there are an unusual sort of forest rangers, the *lĕlipi sĕlĕm bukit*, 'king cobras', who guard against clandestine opening up of land or picking of fruits.

3

Judicature

69 None of the Tĕngananese village institutions has been so disrupted in the past decade as the uniquely organized and prudently operating judicial system. Let us, then, begin by describing the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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to express his opinion. The case was then decided by a majority vote, and could not be appealed.

Since the Court of Kĕrta at Karangasĕm has begun to concern itself with Tĕngananese affairs, much of this judicial system has disappeared. In the first place the Council has failed utterly to comprehend the division of the *klihans bahan* in three pairs, as is clear from a case in which one of the *klihans bahan*, asked for his opinion on a verdict, answered that he would have preferred a different decision, but it was not his responsibility, since a younger pair of *klihans* had settled the case.

Having noted that the higher authorities constantly request the opinion of the whole village population, the *desa* officials have in recent years taken to settling cases at meetings of all the core villagers, and have ordered records of the verdicts to be kept. As a result the lower stages in the judicial system have disappeared.

This seems to me regrettable, for the whole system of judicature by successive groups had a valuable significance for the development of Tĕngananese *adat* law. The junior pair of *klihans bahan*, the judges who were closest to the younger generation of *desa* members, pronounced the decision in the first instance, and the older *klihans* had to accept it with good grace, whether they agreed with it or not. That was the chance of the younger group. But if there was uncertainty as a result of the fact that the junior pair did not concur, the case moved on to an older pair, riper in experience and more thoroughly acquainted with the *adat*. And in this way with each step on the judicial ladder older and older persons, more and more mature in their judgement, but also more and more tenacious in their adherence to the traditional *adat*, were involved. Until finally the case came to the village elders, the *klihans gumi*, who, if they were to have sole power of adjudication, would decide the case according to the *adat* concepts of their youth. Instead, however, they had to present their opinions to the *desa* as a whole, leaving the final judgement to the *tambunan gumi*.

The *desa* has meanwhile found a workable solution to the question of which affairs lie within its competence and which within that

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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622 approval, but his office may be hereditary if the son of a popular chief is believed to possess his father's virtues. Should he be found to be undesirable, he is politely asked to resign and a new *kliang* is elected. A good village chief is a popular and influential man although he may be poor and simple. Once elected and after the choice has been sanctioned by the gods, he cannot decline to hold office, except under severe penalty. Even then his services are not rewarded, and the advantages he enjoys by his position are insignificant; he receives a slightly larger share of land, perhaps a double share of the food distributed from offerings, and he is free of certain duties. He does not receive any salary despite the burden of his obligations and responsibilities; he has to administer the society, preside over the meetings, manage and organize all of the *desa* festivals. He shares the executive
● [624] duties of the *desa* with the *penyarikan*, a lesser official (who is not, however, under his authority), a scribe and a number of messengers, none of whom are rewarded.

178 Under the rule of the princes the system was greatly under-
623 mined, especially where the villages grew too large to be effectively managed by such a simple patriarchal organization. In the conquered territories the lands were gradually taken away from the *desa* and its authority was weakened until the function of the *desa* is now reduced to the upkeep of the village institutions, the celebration of village festivals, and religious ceremonies. The *desa* remains, however, the bulwark of the *adat* law, the net of traditional regulations owned by each village, in which all possible cases are carefully worked out in the most remarkable simple logic.

THE BANDJAR

621 As the *desa* Government lost control over the social and eco-
474 nomic organization and as the village grew, simultaneously with
575 the power of the local prince, it became divided into smaller communities within the *desa*, quarters or wards, the *bandjars*: cooperative societies of people bound to assist each other in

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there is but one, most often two or three. Sometimes there are as many as four or five, usually reflecting either a large bandjar or one sharply segmented into strong kin or other subgroups, in which all important cross-cutting minorities must be given a role in bandjar leadership. Nowadays klian are usually elected for five years and then replaced by a new set, often chosen by the outgoing group with the approval of the bandjar meeting, so as to avoid electioneering. Klian are assisted by various lesser officials, whose jobs are usually rotated monthly among the members of the bandjar. Though the klian lead the discussion at the bandjar meeting, hold the public treasury, direct communal work, and commonly are men of some weight in the local community they are not possessed of much formal authority. In line with the general Balinese tendency to disperse power very thinly, to dislike and distrust people who project themselves above the group as a whole, and to be very jealous of the rights of the public as a corporate group, the klian are in a very literal sense more servants of the bandjar than its masters, and most of them are extraordinarily cautious about taking any action not previously approved in the hamlet meeting. Klian, who are unpaid and have no special perquisites, feel that their position mainly earns them the right to work harder for the public and be more abused by it; wearily, they compare their job to that of a man caring for male ducks: like the drake, the bandjar produces lots of squawks but no eggs.

3. *Ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed.* Unlike peasant societies in most parts of the world, there is in Bali almost no connection between the ownership and management of cultivable land on the one hand and local political (i.e., hamlet) organization on the other. The irrigation society, or *subak*, regulates all matters having to do with the cultivation of wet rice and it is a wholly separate organization from the bandjar. "We have two sorts of custom," say the Balinese, "dry customs for the hamlet, wet ones for the irrigation society."

Subak are organized according to the water system: all individuals owning land which is irrigated from a single water source—a single dam and canal running from dam to fields—belong to a single subak. Subak whose direct water sources are branches of a common larger dam and canal form larger and less tightly knit units, and finally the entire watershed of one river system forms an overall, but even looser, integrative unit. As Balinese land ownership is quite fragmented, a man's holding typically consisting of two or three quarter- or half-acre plots scattered about the countryside, often at some distance from his home, the members of one subak almost never hail from a single hamlet, but from ten or fifteen different ones; while from the point of view of the hamlet, members of a single bandjar will commonly own land in a large number of subak. Thus as the spatial distribution of temples sets the boundaries on Balinese religious organization, and the nucleated settlement pattern forms the physical framework for political organization, so the concrete outline of the Balinese irrigation system of simple stone and clay dams, mud-lined canals and tunnels, and bamboo water dividers provides the context within which Balinese agricultural activities are organized.

Though organizational details and terminology differ widely from region to

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

region, there are elected chiefs—usually called *klian subak*, as opposed to *klian bandjar*—over the subak, while the higher levels of watershed and river system organization are coordinated by appointed officials of the central government as the heirs of the traditional irrigation and tax officials of the old Balinese kingdoms. But, again, it is primarily the subak as a whole which determines in the light of its inherited traditions, its own policies.

The subak is responsible for the maintenance of its irrigation system, a task involving almost continual labor, for the apportionment of water among members of the subak, and for the scheduling of planting. It levies fines for infractions of rules (stealing water, ignoring planting directives, shirking work, and so on), maintains the subak temples and carries out a whole sequence of ritual activities connected with the agricultural cycle, controls fishing, fodder gathering, duck herding and other secondary activities in the subak, and so on and so forth. In most of the larger subak today the actual irrigation work—the constant repair of dams and canals and the perpetual opening and closing of water gates involved in water distribution—is carried out by only a part of the subak membership, called the "water group," which then receives a money payment from those not so working, the amount again being determined by the subak as a whole. Complex patterns of share tenancy, involved systems of controlled crop rotation, varying modes of internal subak organization, and the increasing efforts by the government water officials to improve inter-subak coordination complicate the whole picture. But everywhere the status of the subak as an independent, self-regulating, corporate group with its own rules and its own purposes remains as unchallenged today as it was in the times of the Balinese kings.

4. *Commonality of ascribed social status.* The Balinese, like the Indians from whom they have borrowed (and reformulated) so much, have commonly been described as having a caste system. They do, in the sense that social status is patrilineally inherited, that marriage is fairly strictly regulated in terms of status, and that, save for a few unusual exceptions, mobility between levels within the prestige system is in theory impossible and in practice difficult. But they do not in the sense of possessing a ranked hierarchy of well-defined corporate groups, each with specific and exclusive occupational, social, and religious functions all supported by elaborate patterns of ceremonial avoidance and commensality and by a complex belief system justifying radical status inequality. Were the term "caste" not so deeply ingrained in the literature on Bali, it might be less confusing to speak of the Balinese as having a "title system," for it is in terms of a set of explicit titles, passing from father to child and attached to the individual's name as a term both of address and reference, that prestige is distributed.

Following Indian usage, the Balinese divide themselves into four main groups: Brahmana, Satria, Vesia, and Sudra. Since in such a classification more than 90 per cent of the population falls into the fourth category, a more common division for everyday use is made between *Triwangsa* ("the three peoples"), the first three groups taken as a unit, and the *Sudra*, which in a

[97 cont.]

771 the intensive effect of Hinduism. The whole organization of
174 the village, as well as the work on the land, is closely bound
621 up with this religion; there are special dèsa temples, religious festivals for purifying the dèsa, special temples for the soebak, etc.

621 There are two types of dèsa on Bali, especially in Buleleng, the old-fashioned and the modern dèsa. The former is distinguished by the great significance that the dèsa association (sekaha dèsa) still has; it consists primarily of the descendants of those who founded the dèsa, that is, the so-called core villagers. Certain advantages are enjoyed by [98] the members of these dèsa associations in the old-fashioned villages, usually in the form of agricultural land. The number of members is [564] limited, and there is absolute equality among them; even differences of caste do not play a part here. [Illustration appears here.] A council of elders guides the collective settlement of matters.

When a member dies, his son or some other blood relative is taken into membership [99] in his place. When there is no male relative to succeed him, a new member can be taken in. Such a new member has to serve a kind of apprenticeship, during which he is not looked upon as a full member of the association, and at meetings he has to serve the other members. The external characteristic of the old-fashioned dèsa is the possession [623] of a balé-agoeng, a long shed in the forecourt of the village temple, where the dèsa meetings are held. In these meetings each member has the same rights as the others and possesses [624] one vote. For the orderly conduct of business matters, however, there are some leaders, the eldest members of the association. In some dèsa this executive committee is composed exclusively of a certain number of these elders who are accorded various official titles. When one of these executive members dies, a successor is moved up to take his place.

793 The pasèk, whose function has a religious character, is
554 on an equal footing with these executive members, and above them in some dèsa. He answers to the godhead, the déwa, when [776] the latter is reincarnated in the temple.

[Text continues on p. 113]

[99 cont.]

624 In more recent times a new functionary has been created in the old-fashioned villages, the penjarikan-dèsa, or village clerk, who is responsible to the pasèk and the council of elders.

623 554 The village councilor receives little material reward as the fruit of his office; actually each has a right to a double portion in the distribution of the temple offerings. They are, however, always accorded other distinctions: sometimes a portion of the great bench in the meeting room is reserved for them and separated by a groove from that of the other members.

621 565 In these old-fashioned dèsa, the exclusive society represented by the descendants of the first founders of the village is clearly seen. They do not permit later arrivals to have claims on the land or to have a voice in the administration of the village. Today, however, especially in the mountain areas, the old-fashioned villages are somewhat more kindly disposed toward outsiders; after some years they are admitted as special members of the dèsa association.

The new villages have a quite different character, and this exclusive spirit does not prevail. The aim of the dèsa [100] [623] association here was to look after community interests, provide for safety, and to fulfill the duties to the gods and the sovereign. From this sprang the general rule that every male inhabitant becomes a member of the dèsa as soon as he marries; special advantages concerning the possession of land are not attached to this membership.

The administration of the new type of dèsa is completely different from that of the old-fashioned ones. The council of elders no longer exists; the leadership of the meeting and the [622 793] office of executive is delegated to one man, the klian, who is one of the members of the association chosen according to the instructions of the godhead through the mouth of the person he inspires in the temple. It sometimes happens that the villagers are not immediately satisfied with the choice and press for a consultation of the godhead.

793 A pasèk is no longer appointed in this kind of village. In his place is the pamangkoe, the keeper of the temple, who

[100 cont.]

793 at the same time is charged with offering the sacrifices in the temple. The klian, too, is a kind of spiritual leader; he is in charge of the care of the temple and is the leader in religious ceremonies.

624 Scattered villages are divided into bandjar, or parishes; in each there is a special local functionary, the klian bandjar or klian tinggi.

For administration and financial management there is a penjarikan-dèsa, the secretary-treasurer of the village; sometimes the klian has this office, but sometimes it is delegated to someone else, or, in the chief villages, to the pambekel gedé.

In most of these villages there is also a klian tempèk or klian troena, who calls upon the troena, or young members, to carry out the tasks they have to do.

Finally, in nearly every large dèsa there is also a sedahan temboekoe, "water bailiff," who is in charge of the principal aqueducts and who collects the taxes.

623 In some villages of this type there is a kind of village council composed of prominent soedra who act as counsellors and arbitrators to the klian and the penjarikan.

621 [101] Duties of the Inhabitants. With some exceptions, all adult, male inhabitants are obliged to carry out certain duties in the service of the village, such as keeping the roads in order, manning the watch posts, and taking part in offering sacrifices in the temple. Each in turn acts as messenger for the klian.

883 533 535 The youths (troena), in addition, are obliged to do special services, such as playing the gamelang in the temple [illustration appears here], performing dances, etc. The young girls, too, have similar duties, such as performing round dances. Later on they become members of the temple choir, accompanied by the gamelang.

461 364 Those exempt from dèsa service are, among others, the members of the highest caste, some also of the second and third caste, and the perbali (a class between the third caste and the soedra in rank, the propertied middle class) and young married people during the first year of marriage.

[101 cont.]

000 people during the first year of marriage.

621 651 [102] The villagers also have financial duties; they must pay for the dèsa festivals and ceremonies through the patoeroenan, a tax payable in money. To provide the dèsa treasury with money,

[142 291]

Balinese Family Group
Photo. Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam. Coll. Aug. de Wit.

[541 525] cock-fighting also is organized, and a portion of the betting money exacted.

623 [805] Village Meetings. These usually take place once a month (the Balinese month has 35 days), in the village temple at full moon and in the temple of the dead at new moon, or, in the old-fashioned dèsa, in the balé-agoeng erected in the forecourt of the [624] village temple. The evening before the meeting the messengers of the klian summon the villagers on the signal block.

[382 cont.]

643 from the Satriya [Kshatriya] caste. All the sovereigns on Bali,
564 however, are from the Wesja [Vaisya] class, with the exception of the ruler of Kloengkoeng. The sovereign of that state is supposed to be a pure Satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung. The rulers of the other states bear the title of Anak agung. The sovereign of Kloengkoeng exercises a kind of supremacy over the others, not only because of his high birth, but also on the strength of his ancestors' conquests over the other states. This
[641] supremacy is very slight, however. Although the princes swear an oath of loyalty and allegiance to him, consult him on important occasions, and call him in as arbiter of their differences, they obey him only insofar as it suits their interests.

Otherwise, the authority of the sovereigns on Bali is fairly
643 autocratic. Indeed, although the sovereign has a council of
645 priests and notables, members of the royal family, who, depend-
642 ing on their [383] caste, bear the title of dewa or gusti, they are entirely dependent on his will. Next to the sovereign stands the mantja magara, or state administrator, in whom the actual government is vested. The sovereign has still other officials who fulfill various functions.

634 A state is divided into a number of districts. At the head of the districts stand governors, the punggawa or pambekel gedé. They are chosen by the people, but under the approval of
622 the sovereign, who often influences the choice. The villages
621 are governed by village chiefs, who bear the name of klijan dèsa.
●624 They are chosen by the people, and this choice is approved by the punggawa and the sovereign. There are often lesser chiefs in a village, section chiefs, klijan bandjar.

642 As I have just noted, the sovereign has an autocratic authority. The subjects are outrageously oppressed and regarded as slaves by their sovereigns, who are faithfully imitated in this
651 by the lesser chiefs. The sovereigns have many sources of dif-
[681] ferent kinds of income. They formerly consisted of the fines that were imposed as punishment; the sale of wrongdoers
[428] sentenced to slavery; the estates of those who died without